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NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

No. DLVIII.

MAY, 1903.

THE FUTURE OF THE NEGRO.

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IN discussing a question which has been so freely ventilated during the past two decades as the Negro Problem, the writer is under a certain disadvantage, since in the masses of accumulated evidence on the subject he finds nearly every aspect of the case carefully studied, and he is perforce compelled to go over again many time-worn arguments. And yet, in the present condition of affairs, in the confusion of the public mind, and, more particularly, in the indefinite attitude of the average American towards this problem, one finds the clearest proof that it is as fresh to-day as ever, as full of debatable points, and as important to the people of this country. Every now and then some special incident brings the subject forcibly before the nation; but, although it takes these sensational episodes to earn the tribute of colossal headlines in the daily papers, the Negro Problem is, like the poor, always with us—a part of the national life of the United States, a factor in her social evolution, a “black cloud” hanging on the horizon of her brilliant future.

It is unnecessary to recapitulate the history of the movements by which the African savage was transplanted to American soil, given a certain training in the school of slavery, and then turned loose on the world as a full-blown American citizen. The only

explanation of the series of blunders made in the treatment of the negro race by their white masters can best be given in the words of Dr. Johnson, "Ignorance—pure ignorance!" After all, even with our superior instruction and the judicial attitude which the perspective of time allows, it would be difficult for any one of us to construct a plan which would have met the requirements of the case and nullified the inevitable evils arising from an anomalous and impossible situation. There is, the writer believes, a general consensus of opinion in this country, both North and South, that many mistakes have been made in dealing with the negro, and as an unprejudiced observer he would like to see a similar unanimity in forgetting the past and constructing some definite policy for the future. Ten years ago, James Bryce, writing in this REVIEW, noted the extreme divergence of opinion amongst educated Americans as to the character, possibilities and future of the negro. Were he to travel to-day, as the writer has done, in the same parts of the country, and converse with men of similar calibre, he would, it is to be feared, find still more confusion and discrepancy.

No conclusion as to the Negro Problem can be arrived at without a brief preliminary statement of certain facts. The negro colored population of the United States at the last census was 8,840,789, the total population being 76,303,387. The decennial increase (1890-1900) was at the rate of 18.1 per cent., as compared with 21.4 per cent. among the whites, or 18.9 among the whites of American parentage.* In the last century the negro percentage, in proportion to the total population, decreased from 18.9 to 11.6. The negro element in 1790 was one-fifth of the total population, while now it is merely one-ninth. But the relative decline of the negro element is due to foreign white immigration, the natural increase of the two races being about equal. We are not, therefore, as has been sometimes stated, face to face with the possible swamping of the white by the black race. On the other hand, the figures show that the negro race is not, by any means, dying out, that its increase, on the contrary, is steady, and that the high death-rate is due to causes altogether apart from racial deterioration. We have, therefore, in the United States, with a large black population which is tending more and more to

* In the South Atlantic division the increase of whites was 19.9 per cent., as compared with 14.3 for negroes, and in the South Central division the figures were respectively 29.1 and 19.9.

segregation, this anomaly—a nation within a nation; and many are the schemes which have been devised to cut the Gordian knot of difficulties arising from this situation.

First, people have dreamed of transplanting the entire race, and although this idea may be absurd it seems still to be cherished by serious people. The experiment in Liberia, and another more recently in Mexico, having resulted in failure, other suggestions have been made. Africa, practically partitioned among the European Powers, is no longer available as a dumping ground, even were the negroes willing to return there. A suggestion, so wild as to be fantastic, which yet seems to have been seriously received in this country, is the transportation of negroes to the Philippines. That such an idea should have even obtained a hearing demonstrates a lamentable state of ignorance both as regards the negro and the Filipino. These fantastic schemes may at once be dismissed, for no one with the most elementary knowledge of the subject can doubt that, for good or evil, the negro has become an integral part of the United States system, and that the problem is one that cannot be got rid of by any such drastic measures.

There are many people who argue that the question had better be left alone—that it will settle itself, and that the social and economic difficulties will be adjusted by the mere process of time. This theory, though convenient, is hardly warranted by facts; for it needs little study to realize that, instead of smoothing out the tangled threads, time is engaged in confusing them, and that, to drop the metaphor, relations between the two races are becoming more and more strained.

It is the aim and ambition of every true American of the United States to make his country the first in the world, not merely in wealth and power but in social evolution. How can this be accomplished when a great canker eats into the heart of the nation? More than eight millions of American citizens, theoretically free, are enslaved by the chains of tradition and prejudice. While the bulk of the nation moves forward, this eight millions—one-ninth of the whole—remains practically stationary; for, while a few individuals of the negro race succeed in raising themselves far above its old limits, the great mass is making no progress, is indeed receding in many respects. The gulf widens day by day, is infinitely wider now than in slavery days. The negro race, too, has this characteristic,—it rises very slowly, it retrogrades with

extraordinary rapidity. As an unprejudiced observer, it seems to the writer impossible that a country which prides itself, as does the United States, on enlightenment, freedom and justice, and which expects to play the leading part in world affairs in the future, can afford to have at its very heart this disintegrating force, this constant irritant, this potent reminder of past and present mistakes.

Let us put aside, therefore, as equally impracticable, the policies of wholesale deportation and "masterly inactivity"; but, before attempting any constructive policy, it is necessary to review briefly the character of the people under consideration.

Widely different as are the estimates of the negro given by white men, they agree generally in certain conclusions. One of the keenest observers of the African negro (the late Mary Kingsley) speaks of his weakest points as "his emotionalism, his sloth, his vanity, and—want of mechanical idea." The three first are faults of temperament, the latter largely a defect in training—temperament, of course, is also modified by training; and we have constantly to remind ourselves that there is no educated ancestry behind the negro of to-day. Indolence, physical and mental, is undoubtedly the keynote of the African race; friends and foes agree equally in this estimate. Indolent and ignorant, untrained in the most elementary manual labor and incapable of the simplest mental exercise, the African negro of the West Coast was transplanted at one bound to a country where physical exertion was exacted from him and a certain amount of mental exercise became a necessity.

There is no space here to enter into a discussion of the various aspects of the slave system; but it is generally admitted, the writer believes, that under it some advance was made—the American negro was raised to a higher plane; he learned a civilized language, acquired a better standard of living, and in many cases attained considerable skill as a mechanic or house-servant. That the bulk of the slaves performed more or less mechanical field work, not calculated to train either mind or hand, is true; but the mere habit of labor, which civilized man accepts as a matter of course and the savage despises, was a training in itself. Naturally, the slaves submitted to this discipline without any appreciation of its educational value, and, like children, their first idea on receiving freedom was that it meant eternal holidays; but it is idle

to deny that during the period of slavery the majority of the negroes had learned lessons which were of the utmost value in fitting them for their environment. As for the exceptional men, it is, indeed, remarkable to find how many, some born in Africa, rose above the level of their own people; and we are familiar with instances of slaves who exhibited the highest traits of faithfulness, self-reliance and industry when the white master was no longer there. To what did they owe their emancipation from constitutional lethargy, both mental and physical? To their constant association with white people and the discipline enforced, but also to inherent possibilities in the race. And while it is impossible to judge a people from picked specimens of their race, it is equally impossible to ignore those exceptions in making an estimate of racial capacity. Every Englishman is not a Shakespeare, but we feel that only a nation with our latent possibilities could have produced that genius.

There is a general impression, borne out to a certain extent by statistics, that the negroes have degenerated in capacity and industry since the abolition; and one of themselves, the able and enlightened Booker Washington, makes a strong point of this, attributing the change to the fact that on the plantation and in the "great house" slaves were trained in every department of skilled labor and were master carpenters, blacksmiths, cabinet-makers, and mechanics, whereas now, handicapped by their own indolence and by the competition of white men, they are being driven to the wall, white labor even ousting them from the fields of agriculture and domestic service. This is, no doubt, largely due to race prejudice, but not altogether. The average negro is not as satisfactory in any of these departments of human industry as the average white man, and as a rule it is quite as much his faults of character and temperament that disqualify him as his lack of technical skill. These faults—instability, unreliability, restlessness and the like—were corrected and subdued by the discipline of slavery, and therefore in many respects the negro artisan, mechanic, field-hand or servant of to-day is inferior to his prototype of slave-days. This is one side of the question.

As we find him to-day, the American negro is a mass of anomalies and incongruities. There are brilliant and abnormal individuals who seem to controvert in their persons every charge brought against the race, and, as has been said, we cannot leave

these out in the estimation of racial possibilities. But, on the whole, it must be confessed that the combined product of six generations of slavery and forty years of freedom is what might be expected from two systems so entirely opposite in their effects, acting on an original foundation of practical savagery. To take a race, still in the most elementary stage of development, and put it through such extremes in the short space of some two centuries, was an experiment which subverts all theories of racial evolution. The American negro, therefore, wears the garments and speaks the language of a civilized people. He accepts the wonders of science as utilized in modern American life; he practices, with much fervor, the rites of Christianity, and he does everything in his power to lessen the outward difference between himself and the white man. But scratch the negro and you will find a savage. His constitutional enemies—sloth, emotionalism and vanity—and his inherited lack of mechanical capacity are forever dragging him back. His Christianity is tinctured with the gross superstitions of his former home, and has little connection in his mind with morality. His devotion to the church, as has been pointed out, is greatly due to the fact that it provides him with a centre for that communal life which, in his state of evolution, takes the place of the home. He regards education merely as a means to cheap distinction or something which may place him above the necessity of labor. In this connection it may be mentioned that, while the negro race contributes vast sums for religious purposes, and owns church property valued at \$26,000,000, its contributions to education would hardly amount to one-tenth of that sum. The nomadic habits of African ancestors, modified but not eradicated by the discipline of slavehood, have returned with force since the black man became his own master, and, above everything, he is unreliable and fond of change.

One might multiply these descriptions indefinitely, and trace every trait back to its original home in the African swamp. The moral frequently drawn from such researches seems to be, "Once an African, always an African"; so that any attempts to "elevate the negro" are foredoomed to shipwreck on the rocks of racial incapacity. But what authority have we for placing one race of mankind entirely apart by denying it any capacity for development? The traditional classification of the human family has

been abandoned by most modern ethnologists, and the Bible is no longer quoted by men of science or culture as a proof that one race of mankind is foredoomed to slavery. We have, certainly, in the Negritos and the Australian Bushmen, two instances of primitive races which do not seem capable of making even the smallest advance, but their incapacity to adopt civilization is to a great extent physical; they simply droop and die, as did the highly-cultivated Indians when brought in contact with the Spanish system, or as the gentle South Sea Islanders are dwindling under a civilization to which they are unadapted.

On the contrary, no devitalization of the negro race has yet taken place, even under the most adverse circumstances; and the American negro, being to a certain degree the product of selection, is physically vigorous, even when transplanted to a temperate climate. There is, therefore, no physical reason against his evolution, and we have yet to receive proofs that he has arrived at the extreme point of mental and moral development. Under a system, brutal and faulty, entirely impossible in the present era of civilization but adapted to the requirements of a situation which was fundamentally wrong, he made distinct progress. How many of the countless millions who have read "Uncle Tom's Cabin" have ever reflected what that venerable man would have been like if he had been living out of slavery—on his native African swamp? This is no defence of slave-holding—merely an appreciation of the progress made by the black race under a system so indefensible in many of its aspects.

As for the progress of the race after emancipation, it has been said that the negro regarded his return to freedom as a deliverance from all labor. Although this argues a very elementary stage in evolution, it must be remembered that hitherto, while he had certainly been raised several grades above his original state, he had had no chance of developing the sense of responsibility which is an essential of good citizenship. In addition to this he was made the tool of party politicians, and, therefore, with his sudden acquisition of political and social rights, he lost, during the period of reconstruction, far more than he gained from the point of view of character development. This was inevitable, and will always occur when a strong people puts into the hands of a weak one weapons which the latter do not understand and can only wield with danger to themselves and others. When affairs in the South

finally settled down, and compromises were arrived at which rendered the misused weapons harmful chiefly to those who handled them, there was left the terrible gulf between the races, who had hitherto lived together in the capacity of masters and servants on terms of intimacy and often of affection. On the other hand, a whole stream of private benevolence was let loose, having for its object the uplifting of the negro, and facilities were provided, by which the gates of higher education, hitherto barred, were opened to the black race, with many other possibilities. Unfortunately the education provided was purely literary, quite unsuited for the negro.

The new conditions were more favorable to the exceptional negro, but far less, from many points of view, to the great mass of black people, for this reason: that they were removed from the sphere of white influence, and thrown on their own resources while still in an unfledged, and immature, condition. Time and space do not allow the following out in detail of the different ways in which the new forces operated; but, taking the Southern negroes roughly on the whole, we find to-day that they are further from, instead of nearer to, the ideal of American citizenship. They betray a tendency to leave the work for which they are best adapted—agriculture, and field-work generally; and even when still employed on the land they give increasing cause for dissatisfaction because of their irregular and nomadic habits. In the South they are segregating into what is known as the Black Belt, while in the Border States they are crowding into the larger cities, and in both parts they congregate in districts where too often are reproduced the worst features of the old slave-quarter, without its wholesome restraint and supervision. With the gradual dying out of old slaves, trained in various forms of mechanical skill, there has arisen no similar class among free negroes, for those trained in industrial schools and colleges to-day represent a higher stratum of negro society. They are in fact picked men, and not sufficiently numerous to leaven the whole lump. Very few indeed actually practise the trades they learn, but are employed as school-teachers. The skilled negro artisan becomes more and more rare, and whereas technical training was practically forced on the slaves, and a large proportion of them took to it as a rise in their position, the present-day negro is being relegated more and more to the humblest occupations and domestic service,

and even here he has to meet more and more with competition from the whites. In two respects, the condition of the negroes is certainly improved—landed property in the rural districts has been acquired by them on a considerable scale and the percentage of illiteracy is less; and education is, undoubtedly, the most valuable of gifts. To this subject we must return later. The writer's object here is merely to sum up what he has gathered from many sources, and what is certainly apparent to any one returning to the Southern States, as he has done, after a ten years' absence. The sum of his impressions and of the evidence gathered from all sources is, that the position of the negro has not improved in the last decade, that his character shows distinct signs of retrogression, and that the relations between the white and black races are far less satisfactory.

One does not require to go far afield to see the result of "leaving the negro to his own devices." Hayti has become a by-word among the nations, and it is incontrovertible that, with the removal of white control, the negroes have reverted to a condition almost of savagery, because they retain the vices of the white man, in addition to their own, and clothe both with the outward semblance of civilization and Christianity. Liberia is another instance of dismal failure. Jamaica in the early days afforded a similar object lesson, and was only rescued from disorder by prompt action. Placed once more under the Crown, under a paternal and liberal government, the Jamaican negro is probably the best specimen of his race,—orderly, industrious and making steady strides in character development.

To go back a little. It must be admitted that the American negroes advanced under slavery, and it is also allowed by many, including the best among themselves, that they have in many respects retrograded since the abolition. Despite the improvement in their status, political and social, the black race seems to be losing instead of gaining ground. In literary education their progress has certainly been marked; but it seems doubtful, to say the least of it, whether this improvement has accomplished what was expected in fitting the black man for the battle of life which he is constrained to wage under hostile conditions. Even in the new industrial development of the South, which will transform that part of the country as it has done the East and North, the negro finds no place.

What, therefore, is the "one thing needful," the element which, triumphing over the evils of the slave system, was working out the salvation of the negro against his will? In one word—discipline. Civilized people recognize the necessity for this and enforce it on themselves and their children, knowing that nations have only risen to greatness in proportion to their obedience to a central authority. In the present stage of negro evolution, the great need is for a paternal government, and the problem for the United States is how to combine such government with the theories of a democracy. The question of how to accomplish this does not arise only in connection with the American negro. It has been met in connection with the Indian, and although the friends of the Noble Red Man must doubt the wisdom of the methods employed, these constitute a precedent for a liberal interpretation of the Constitution which is sometimes forgotten. In the Philippines and Porto Rico a similar problem has to be faced; and there can be no doubt that the destinies of the United States will lead her to take up still more the white man's burden. She has got somehow to evolve a workable hypothesis on which to construct a government for alien people in a different stage of evolution. She has already lost much of the spirit of a true democracy; and to-day one finds, amidst the constant assertion of social equality, that hardly even in aristocratic Britain are the privileges of family and caste more jealously guarded and more proudly acclaimed. This social phenomenon is, of course, stronger in the South than anywhere else; but the East has its full share, and, despite the ideals of individual liberty and universal justice, we see in this country the crushing tyranny of Trusts on one hand and of Labor Unions on the other. There is nothing unnatural in the evolution of this state of affairs; but, to the writer, it is symptomatic of a tendency which seems typical of present-day America—a tendency to proclaim aloud the letter of democracy while secretly controverting its spirit. This was the pitfall into which the negro fell. He was promised an equality with the white man which the latter neither could, nor would, allow him. This was done in ignorance and good faith; but, once the mistake revealed itself, the white man was not prepared to own his error. He merely patched up the situation by methods often as illegal as they were illogical. As a matter of fact, the position of an inferior race in a democratic country was, and is, an

anomaly. It would be far better if the situation were accepted broadly as such, and if, instead of trying to fit the inferior race to the American Constitution, the Constitution were generously interpreted to suit the needs of the inferior race. The initial mistake having been made of giving the negroes universal suffrage, the white men of the South have been compelled in self-defence to restrict that suffrage in various ways. This was not "liberally interpreting" the Constitution however, but juggling with it. The introduction of education and property test is a legitimate solution of the difficulty, but there must be a great change in the spirit and the methods in which they are applied, if they are to work satisfactorily. Incidentally it may be said here that the negro has good sense and justice on his side in claiming that the tests should apply equally to the illiterate whites. Political jerry-mandering, although it may be outwardly successful, has a most deteriorating effect on both blacks and whites, and by demoralizing politics defeats its own ends in the long run.

The great essential is a radical change in the attitude of the white race towards the negroes. With the declaration of a democracy which should embrace both we have seen the gradual widening of the gulf between them, and an evident tendency of the strong to push the weak to the wall. The idea of racial fusion is repulsive, and there is strong evidence that it becomes more so. No student of ethnology could desire it otherwise. The logical attitude seems to the writer to be an entire change from this pseudo-democratic equality. Let the fact be acknowledged by both races, that the negro belongs to a different plane to the Anglo-Saxon, that he is inferior, mentally and morally, not from inherent defects, but because he is at a different stage of social evolution. Let us not deny in the face of evidence his power of development, but bend our minds to the task of helping him in his upward path. The fusion, social or otherwise, of the two races is impossible; but why can they not live side by side, without contempt on the one hand and hatred on the other? Although there are difficulties to be adjusted which do not arise in a country governed by a Crown, the writer can see no real obstacle to the American negro ultimately living with his white neighbor on terms similar to those of the Mohammedan or Hindoo with the British. To take an instance nearer to hand. Why cannot the relations be similar to those prevailing in Jamaica?

That island should be carefully studied by all who are interested in the future of the negro. The conditions of life there were very similar to those in the South in the ante-bellum days. Since that time there has been no industrial development, and there is still no white competition; but still the parallel is sufficiently close to be very instructive. The commercial depression of the West Indies was unfavorable to the development of the negro, but in spite of it he has made strides. In morality, for instance, there is a remarkable improvement; crime is comparatively rare and trivial. An instructive anecdote which illustrates this was told me recently of a lady who lived in the island alone on her plantation, many miles from any other white people. "Are you not afraid?" she was asked, and she replied: "Oh no! We have plenty of black men about the place!" It is no exaggeration to say that a woman can go from one end of the island to the other in perfect safety. In industry a great advance has been made. The roads and public works are all the fruit of native labor, many of the foremen and overseers being also colored men. In Central America, in developing the coast lands, the Jamaican negroes are in great request and are practically indispensable in that region; nor would it be possible to construct a Trans-Isthmian canal without them. Large employers of Jamaica laborers, who have experience of negroes in the Southern States, speak of the superior docility and industry of the former. Finally, a word of praise must be given to the West-Indian soldier, whose white officer speaks of him with pride and affection. There is a striking contrast between the status of the negro in Jamaica and in America. In the former, it is not only possible but customary for the Governor to entertain any colored man of standing, and many of the government offices are open to them. The writer can speak from experience of the capacity and intelligence displayed by such men. There is no restriction in cars, theatres or hotels; and yet there is far less chance of insolence or intrusiveness on the part of the negro. On the country roads every man or woman greets the white traveller with a bow or curtsy "Marnin', Massa," or "Missus," and as often as not is answered with "Morning, uncle" or "auntie!"

What is the reason of this difference in the relations of the two races? In the first place, the Jamaican negro labors under no sense of injustice. He has not been taught to consider himself

the absolute equal of the white man; but, at the same time, he knows that he will be treated according to his deserts if he rises above the level of his race. Racial fusion is out of the question; but on his merits he can raise himself in the eyes of the world, both black and white. He respects himself accordingly, and regards himself, often with touching *naïveté*, as an integral and valuable part of the Empire. Meet him where you may, he pats himself on the chest and says, with a grin, "British subject, sar!"

The great panacea suggested for the evils of the condition of the negro race is education. It is interesting to note that in Jamaica education has been, until quite recently, very defective and unscientific. Nevertheless, the Jamaican negro, while less "up to date" in some ways, is undoubtedly a better, wiser, more useful man than his American brother; without any "problems" to worry him; advancing slowly but surely along the paths of progress towards material prosperity and spiritual enlightenment. There is no need to quote statistics in proof of this. The phenomena I have cited can be observed by the merest globe-trotter. The important point is the existence in this island of a system by which blacks and whites live together, enjoying the same privileges, and to a great extent the same opportunities, without race fusion, and without race hatred. The whites, numerically small, are and have always been politically the stronger (since the reconstruction which was necessary after the first period of freedom). In a word, the white man has ruled and influenced the black, and because he has done so openly and legally the negro has not resented the situation, and because their relations are clearly defined the white can afford to treat the negro with generosity and sympathy.

It may be impossible to create a situation such as this in the United States, but a good deal could be done by a franker and more just appreciation of the state of affairs. It may not be possible to take the negro question out of the realms of party politics, but a wider sympathy with the negroes and appreciation of their needs, especially among the prosperous communities of the North, would do a good deal to help them out of the slough of despond into which the avarice and ignorance of the white man have plunged them. The sympathy of the North is largely theoretical. Throughout the dark days the Southern gentry have done much for their poor colored neighbors. That their efforts have too often

been unfruitful must be attributed to a lack of organization. The difference between the South and North is this, according to a brilliant colored observer—the Southerner sympathizes with *a* negro, but not *the* negro; the North with *the* negro, but not *a* negro.

Education, though not a panacea, is the first and most practical question, but the American's idea of education is curiously inelastic. He thinks it well to adopt the same methods with the Filipino, for instance, as with the boy from Ohio or the negro from Georgia. It is curious in this connection to see how history repeats itself. The suffrage, with education to follow, was to fit the negro for American citizenship. The same method, slightly adapted, is to fit the Filipino for self-government. Unfortunately for the white man, he cannot assume and reject responsibility at will, nor can he, by arbitrary methods, break down the intellectual and moral barriers imposed by race and evolution. He will only make bad Americans out of fairly good black or brown men. It is not so much education which is at fault, as the attempt to make all education fit in with American ideas, and with the theory that each child is a full-blown American citizen. The American negro is pitchforked into a machine little adapted for his mental or moral needs and he suffers accordingly. The tendency is to condense and compress, to force the bright intellects at the expense of the dull ones, and to make the discipline as light as possible. The negro who goes to a mixed school in the North has to keep pace with children of a very different mental calibre, or to drop hopelessly behind. In the colored schools of the South, taught by colored teachers, he has still to contend with a false standard—false, because it aims at making him the equal in mental attainment of white children, instead of endeavoring to bring out the best sides of his own character? Too often, indeed, the elaborate method of teaching involved by the American system breaks down utterly and becomes a farce, because of inefficient equipment of country schools and the superficial attainments of teachers. In this case the last state of that negro is worse than the first, and he would have been far better off in an old-fashioned village school, where the acquisition of a little reading and writing would not have prevented him from realizing his ignorance, and a frequent application of the stick might have improved his manners.

It has been said that to treat the negro frankly as an alien race would be the wisest course. This would involve separate schools,

specially adapted to the wants of the race, in which strictest account should be taken of the fact that the average negro child has neither heredity nor home influence at the back of him. It must also be remembered that the negro child develops quickly at first, and then seems to stagnate. All these things are in favor of separate schools with a carefully specialized system, but do not eliminate the white element from the school staff. In connection with this it may be mentioned that, at present, there are 99,000 white teachers, compared with 27,746 colored teachers, employed in colored schools; but the class of teachers is inferior and there is the authority of a white lady who worked in a missionary school in the South that it is difficult to get a good class of female teachers, since they are practically ostracised by their fellow-countrywomen because of their connection with the negroes. Such a condition as this should certainly cease to exist.

There is no reason why this school system should not be adjusted so that the bright and ambitious negro could pass on to normal school and to college or university if he wished,—for a career should be open to the superior man; and the character training through which he must first pass would tend to eradicate the faults of superficiality and egotism of which the college-bred negro is sometimes accused.

A great many people believe that industrial training alone can work the regeneration of the negro, and the good results obtained at Hampton, Tuskegee and elsewhere are quoted in proof. Industrial training was one of the great factors in the negro's first rise from savagery, and it becomes a necessity under the present conditions of life. The writer is inclined to think that every negro boy or girl should be given an elementary manual training as much on account of its value in character formation as because of the technical skill acquired. The best of them should afterwards follow their individual bent in taking up industrial or higher school work, every encouragement being given to direct them to occupations for which the negro is specially adapted; but it must be remembered that the vast majority enjoy only a short school-life, and that it is their character, and not their mental attainments, which is the important factor to be considered. In all American public schools there is a tendency to cover too much ground, so that the quick-witted child—and the Anglo-American is peculiarly quick-witted—betrays a brilliance quite beyond his

real knowledge. The whole aim and end of all negro training should be to make every boy or girl a better black, and not a closer imitation of a white. The training of teachers is one of the most important features in every educational scheme, and again it must be repeated that the teacher for colored schools needs a specialized training, and should be of the highest calibre.

There is no doubt that, in his present stage of evolution, the negro is at his best and is most valuable to the state when he remains on the land, employed in agriculture or field labor. Those who desire him to remain on the land should see to it that he is not debarred by so doing from advantages which he could obtain in cities. The condition of country schools in many districts of the South leaves much to be desired, and poverty has been an excuse; for, since the War, it has been difficult for many Southerners to educate their own children. But an era of prosperity has set in, and there should be an increase in educational facilities. The proportion of the money spent in the South since 1870 on education of white and black is about five to one. Only about 17 per cent. is spent on the negro public schools. The expenditure *per capita* of school population is 4.92 for the whites and 2.21 for the colored. And yet the training required by the latter is far more difficult and must be expensive if it is well done.

Throughout, the writer is strongly of the opinion that the control of schools, churches, institutions and every organization of social life should remain to a large extent in the possession of white men. This is indeed a field which calls for missionary enterprise. To teach, or preach, or organize among the negroes of a Southern State really requires more self-sacrifice than to go to China, and the tangible results of such a mission will certainly be far greater. In all missionary work it is the quality and not the quantity that tells, and nowhere more than in dealing with such a delicate situation as this.

It may be said that this course would reduce the openings for educated negroes while increasing their numbers, but this would not necessarily be the case. The increase in educational facilities would create more posts, while the higher standard of teaching power and specialized training required would decrease the number of eligible people. The aim and end of the education given, moreover, should be to create a class less superficial, and therefore more inclined to do thoroughly and well the tasks of housework

or agriculture, and to acquire the technical skill and steadiness necessary for industrial occupations. We do not want more facilities for the exceptional negro, but for the average one—something that will reach that great black mass and move it as the spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters.

The future of the American negro chiefly depends upon the American white man. His is the responsibility, his the loss or gain in proportion as the negro rises or falls. Great as is the work begun by individual negroes of altogether exceptional type, they cannot hope to wrestle with the problem without co-operation from the great bulk of the American nation. First, in all justice get rid of the idea that the negro cannot rise, that he is a helpless, hopeless, log, to be forever whirled about in the torrent of civilization. Then, be honest with him as with yourselves. Treat him as a man of alien race, unfitted in his present stage of evolution for self-government or the full rights of citizenship, but as a man, notwithstanding, not as a *tertium quid* between man and dog. Encourage him in his struggle upwards by a generous acknowledgment of his achievements, and by allowing him to glean, in a fair and open field, whatever his talents may entitle him to.

The black race is already segregating, and this has happened under a system which was supposed to take them bodily into the nation. A course such as that adopted in Jamaica, while it gives far fewer rights nominally, gives far more in reality, and creates a *modus vivendi* under which the two races can live amicably together. Results such as this are brought about less by legislation than by public sentiment. Education is necessary, but not *any* kind of education. Discipline is essential, and should be enforced by white teachers, preachers and controllers in every department to induce steadiness and thoroughness and discourage emotionalism. Above all the white man must be prepared to treat with sympathy and respect any negro who by his life and ability has earned those sentiments, and he must strive to open to such the doors of political and social advancement instead of slamming them in his face.

One circumstance makes the average American lethargic concerning this problem, and unwilling to make any sacrifice to aid its solution. Even the most sanguine feel that no real progress can be made in one generation, perhaps not in two. The children of the children brought up as the writer has indicated would per-

haps be the first to show a real advance, and nowadays we care little to build for posterity. Well for some of us that our fathers were less selfish! Americans, however, with their supreme conviction that, while the countries of the Old World have reached their zenith, the United States is still in the first flush of manhood, ought to rise superior to this short-sighted view. Unless they do, they may pass from growth to decadence without touching maturity.

In conclusion, let us turn again to a rough summary of the situation. The future of the negro hangs in the balance. He cannot be transported, he will not be exterminated, if left alone he will retrograde and drag the white race down as well. There remains the single alternative—to elevate him, at all costs and in the face of every difficulty. The writer has endeavored to show, in a cursory way, what he considers the best lines on which this elevation should proceed; possibly there are other and better ones. All he wishes is to urge on the people of the United States the necessity for action in this matter. Individuals here and there are working on different lines and with varying success, but organization and united effort are wanting. Every State should have its system of negro development fully equipped, and all States should endeavor to bring their systems into unison.

A national problem of gigantic proportions and extreme difficulty, the future of the negro depends first on the creation of a national sentiment in favor of wiser and juster treatment, and then on the energy and ability with which that sentiment is translated into the practical task of elevating the black race.

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